

## Message Text

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ORIGIN ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 EUR-25 H-03 INR-10 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

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APPROVED BY ACDA/IR:RHMILLER

ACDA/IR:DLINEBAUGH

JCS:COLLAFFERTY C:VLEHOVICH

EUR/RPM:GCHRISTIANSON

PM/DCA:VBAKER

OSD/ISA:LMICHAEL

NSC:MHIGGINS (SUBSTANCE)

EUR/TUR:HKIRBY

S/S: DWMILLER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T STATE 151563

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: FLANK SECURITY

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REFS: A. NATO 3776 B. NATO 3744 C. VIENNA 075

1. WE ARE PLEASED THAT BELGIAN REP HAS OFFERED HIS AMENDMENT TO GREEK FORMULATION (REF A) THEREBY KEEPING ISSUE IN A MULTILATERAL CONTEXT AND BELIEVE RESULTING COMPROMISE CONSTITUTES A USEFUL STEP FORWARD. AS DEFINED BY THE BELGIAN REP, HOWEVER, THE REFERENCE TO INDIRECT REDEPLOYMENT IS AMBIGUOUS AND OPEN-ENDED. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THE ALLIANCE COULDBECOME BOGGED DOWN IN EFFORTS TO CLARIFY THIS PHRASE WITH THE RESULT THAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OURSELVES AND SOME FLANK STATES WOULD PROBABLY BE UNDERScoreD.

2. WE NOTE (REF A) THAT AMONG THE FLANK STATES TURKEY CONTINUES TO TAKE THE HARDEST LINE. WE PREFER, THEREFORE, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, TO CONTINUE TO AVOID TAKING THE LEAD IN THE EFFORT TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE TO MINIMIZE THE RISK THAT THE FLANK ISSUE COULD TAKE ON AN ESSENTIALLY BILATERAL CHARACTER. THIS WOULD ONLY FURTHER COMPLICATE SERIOUS BILATERAL PROBLEMS ALREADY AT HAND WITH TURKS. WE REALIZE THAT FLANK ISSUE CANNOT BE POSTPONED INDEFINITELY, BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO DEFER DIRECT CONFRONTATION BETWEEN US AND FLANK STATES.

3. ACCORDINGLY, YOU MAY AS APPROPRIATE WISH TO TAKE ONE OF TWO APPROACHES AIMED AT FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF BELGIAN FORMULA. (A) YOU COULD PROPOSE THAT REFERENCE TO "INDIRECT REDEPLOYMENT" BE DELETED AND THAT THE ISSUE BE TREATED IN A NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE. YOU MAY DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING IF YOU ELECT TO PURSUE THIS APPROACH. WE BELIEVE THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF INDIRECT REDEPLOYMENT COULD BE TREATED IN A NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION. WE CONSIDER THAT SUCH A PROVISION WOULD BE ADEQUATE TO INSURE THAT FORCE REDEPLOYMENTS ARISING OUT OF PHASE I WITHDRAWALS WOULD NOT DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF THE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS (B) ALTERNATIVELY, YOU COULD SUGGEST CONTEXTUAL MODIFICATIONS IN THE USE OF "DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY" ALONG THE LINES PROPOSED BY THE US MBFR DELEGATION (REF C), VIZ MOVING THE TERM "DIRECT AND INDIRECT" SO THAT IT WOULD MODIFY SECURITY OF THE FLANKS RATHER THAN FORCE REDEPLOYMENTS. THIS HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF DEALING WITH THE OVERALL

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EFFECT OF WITHDRAWALS ON THE SECURITY OF THE FLANKS INSTEAD OF SEEKING TO PROHIBIT A SERIES OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS WHOSE REGULATION WOULD BROADEN THE SCOPE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS UNDESIRABLY.

4. WE BELIEVE EITHER APPROACH PROTECTS THE BASIC INTERESTS OF THE FLANKS AND THAT MORE DETAILED LANGUAGE WOULD RISK ENLARGING THE AREA COVERED BY THE NEGOTIATIONS BEYOND THE

NGA. A MORE DETAILED PROVISION WOULD PROBABLY BE NON-NEGOTIABLE, & COULD ENDANGER THE PROSPECTS OF ACHIEVING THE AGREED ALLIED OBJECTIVES IN MBFR, INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY THE PROTECTION OF FLANK INTERESTS.

5. WE WOULD CONTINUE TO OPPOSE ANY EFFORTS TO DEFINE MORE PRECISELY THE GEOGRAPHIC AREAS TO WHICH THESE PROVISIONS SHOULD APPLY, ON THE BASIS THAT THIS WOULD WIDEN THE GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE. FURTHERMORE, ALTHOUGH WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU MENTION POSSIBILITY OF TREATING ISSUE OF INDIRECT REDEPLOYMENT UNDER NON-CIRCUMVENTION, YOU SHOULD SEEK TO AVOID DISCUSSION OF SPECIFIC NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS NOW, AS THIS IS A BROADER ISSUE THAN FLANK SECURITY.

6. INORDER TO TAKE CARE OF THE NORWEGIAN POINT (PARA 4, REF A), YOU MAY WISH TO OFFER AN AMENDMENT TO THE BELGIAN COMPROMISE TO THE EFFECT THAT BOTH DIRECT AND INDIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE BENEFICIARIES OF SUCH A PROVISION.

7. WE SUPPORT USNATO PROPOSAL (REF B, PARA 5) THAT A FORMULATION BE FORWARDED TO THE AHG AS GUIDANCE FOR USE AS AHG SEES FIT. KISSINGER

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